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AN

ANSWER

TO ONE PART of a late

Infamous LIBEL,

INTITLED,

REMARKS on the CRAFTSMAN'S
Vindication of his two honourable PATRONS;

In which

The CHARACTER and CONDUCT of
Mr. P. is fully Vindicated.

In a LETTER to the most Noble AUTHOR.

*Hominem esse arbitror neminem, qui Nomen Ilius audierit, quin
Facta quoque Ejus nefaria commemorare possit; ut mihi magis
timendum sit ne multa Crimina prætermittere, quam ne qua in
Istam fingere existimer.*

CIC.



L O N D O N:

Printed for R. FRANKLIN, in *Russel-Street,*
Covent-Garden. 1731. Price 1 s.

3030268

AC 711.1731.A428



A N

A N S W E R

TO ONE PART of a late

Infamous LIBEL, &c.

Most Noble S I R,



THE Mask hath been long taken off on your Side. It is now high Time to take it off on the other ; since your private Insolence is grown as insupportable as your publick Corruption. I shall therefore speak to you without any Disguise, and shew you in that Light to the World, which your

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Practices

Practices deserve. I know your Power and your scandalous Abuse of it ; but That shall not deter Me from describing you in your proper Colours. You may, if you please, indulge your little Rage against *Printers* and *Booksellers*. You may endeavour to prevent the Discovery of your Guilt, and suppress all Writings, except your own, by *arbitrary Warrants, Seizures and Prosecutions*. You may go on in misapplying the *publick Treasure* and prostituting your *Royal Master's Name* in your own dirty Service. But you shall know, Sir, that you have Men to deal with, and whilst there is an Hand able to write, or a Press open in the Kingdom, your infamous Scurrility shall not go unanswered.

In your *last Libel*, which bears the most evident Marks of its Parent, You have been pleas'd to load *two Gentlemen* with such unprecedented Abuse as no Heart but yours could dictate, and nothing but your Power could usher into the World.—What a Pleasure must it be to reflect that your *Character* alone is sufficient to destroy the Effects of your *Rage*? But since you have given us so fair an opening, it may be of use to let the World into some farther Particulars.

I shall confine myself, in this Letter, to the Character of *one of these Gentlemen*, with whose
Conduct

Conduct in general I am best acquainted, and from whom I have had an Opportunity, from a long Intimacy, of receiving particular Information concerning those *secret Transactions*, which you have thought fit to disclose, and could not otherwise lye open to my own Observation.

It cannot be expected that I should enter into any Defence of the Administration and Measures of the *four last Years of Queen Anne*; because the *Gentleman*, whose Vindication I have undertaken, oppos'd most of those Measures, and still condemns them; but may not *two Gentlemen*, who formerly differ'd about the Conduct of publick Affairs, concur in their Sentiments about the Conduct of Affairs at present, without any Imputation on their Characters, or any Regard to what was done almost twenty Years ago? If the *Ministers* of those Times did many Things ill, have not you, Sir, done Things ten Times worse? Were there, at that Time, any *unlimited Votes of Credit*? Was there such a scandalous Profusion of *Pensions* and *secret service Money*? The Necessity They brought. Themselves under of making a Peace with *France* render'd Them dependent on *France*, and They were oblig'd to submit to unequal Terms, compared with the vast Successes We had, during the War; but can You, Sir, offer to reproach *those Ministers*, and upbraid them with *those Measures*;
You,

You, Sir, who have brought your Country, by a continued Series of Blunders, into Circumstances infinitely worse than They left it? — The *Gentleman*, whom I defend, is consistent with Himself. He could not approve the Treaty of *Utrecht*; much less could He approve the Treaty of *Sevilles* or any other of your *late Treaties*. — He condemn'd the Measures of the *four last Years of Queen Anne*; and He, *a fortiori*, condemns your Measures, for the *last ten Years*, upon the same Principles of Reasoning; for whatever Miscarriages, or even Misdemeanors may be justly charged upon those Times, You, Sir, are the last Person in the Kingdom, who ought to reproach the *Ministers* with them, since your own Conduct is an ample Apology for them. — With what Design then are these Things mentioned? What pass'd so many Years ago cannot be recalled; and if any Thing was done amiss, the only Use of reviving those Transactions, is to avoid the same Errors in our present Conduct. But This is not your Design. You are in Hopes of diverting the Attention of the Publick from your *own Actions*. You want to put us off from the Scent of what is doing at present, and draw us into a Dispute about Things, which pass'd in another Administration. You may think your self extremely cunning in trying this Stratagem; but nobody will be so weak as to bite at the Bait.

Before

Before I enter into the particular Branches of the Charge, which you have exhibited against *this Gentleman*, without any Foundation of Truth or Honour, I must take Notice that it is impossible to collect, thro' the whole Course of your *Remarks*, to whom you impute *that Letter*, which occasion'd this Piece of Scurrility. Sometimes it is Lord B. sometimes it is Mr. P. whom you call the Patrons of the *Craftsman*; and, in other Places, it is the *Craftsman* Himself — Let us therefore state the Case fairly between *You* and the *Gentleman*, whom I defend.

A Letter is published in the *Craftsman*, in which some Compliments are paid to *this Gentleman*; whose Character, perhaps, is set off to a greater Advantage, than it deserves. His Conduct in publick Life is very highly commended; and you, Sir, who was always his Enemy, thought This a sufficient Foundation to revile, abuse and asperse Him, by way of Answer, and to load Him with all the Calumny, that you could possibly croud into a Billingsgate Pamphlet, without enquiring whether He so much as knew of the Honour intended Him; or, if He did, whether He approved it or not. It is very possible He might not like the many fine Things, which were said of him, and could have wished They had never been said; but surely nothing can justify such an Heap of Scurrility as is contain'd

contain'd in *this Libel*——Don't think to retort the Charge upon us, by saying that We attack you in the same Manner, without enquiring whether you was the Author of *this Pamphlet*, or approved of it. We know very well that you have already taken Pains to disown it, for fear of a Reply ; but there are several Passages of *secret History* in it, falsely stated and misrepresented, which could come from nobody but yourself. You might, perhaps, employ some of your *Mercenaries* to work them up for you ; but the Ingredients are certainly your own.

I am told that you have lately taken the most eminent Authors of the *Dunciad* into your Pay, and employ them in your Cause, either for Offence or Defence, as occasion requires. The *late Pieces*, utter'd in your Service, seem to put this Point beyond all Dispute. As much as you affected to despise all *Writers*, you was obliged at last to fly to them for Protection. You beat up for *Volunteers* ; but it was too late. No Man, of *Parts* and *Honesty*, would list in your Service, notwithstanding the large *Bounty-Money* you offer'd, and the numerous *recruiting-Officers* you employ'd in your Service. You have, indeed, a numerous Body of Troops in your Pay ; but what are they ? A loose, disorderly Rabble ; a meer *Turkish Army of Scribes*, well enough adapted to your *own Politicks*.—But let us come to the Subject of this Letter.

The

The first Point you undertake to prove against *this Gentleman* is, that *He hath changed his Notions of Right and Wrong in Matters of Government and renounced the Principles of good Policy, which he formerly professed.*

To support this Accusation, you are pleased to tell us *that He hath attack'd the Royal Title to the Crown, and invaded the Prince on the Throne; invaded Him even in open Parliament, by charging Him with having broken the Terms of the Act of Settlement; by insisting that the Act of Settlement is his Majesty's only Tenure, by which He holds his Crown; by suggesting that the Care of his foreign Dominions was in Breach of that Act, and leaving others to conclude that as the Terms were broken, the Title was forfeited and the Throne was thereby become vacant*—You then ask, in your great Candour, *whether any Title in this World was ever impeached, but with a view to change the Possession.*

This is such an extraordinary Chain of Reasoning, and at the same Time such an infamous Misrepresentation of Fact, absolutely void of all Regard to Truth, that I will condescend, for once, to give it a particular Examination.

The *Gentleman*, accused in this Manner, hath thought Himself obliged, upon several Occasions, to oppose the Continuance of 12,000 *Hessian Troops* in the Pay of *Great Britain*, which amounts to a

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yearly

yearly *Land-Tax* of *Six-pence* in the *Pound*, and hath already cost the Nation above 1,200,000 *l.* Amongst other Reasons for discharging *these Troops*, He mentioned the *Act of Settlement*, which hath wisely provided that *Great Britain* shall never be at any Expence, on Account of any *foreign Dominions*, which may happen to belong to her future Kings, *without the Consent of Parliament*. The Gentleman, whom I defend, endeavour'd to persuade the *House*, as a *Member of Parliament* hath a Right to do, not to dispense with this Limitation in the present Case; because He apprehended that the Continuance of *these Troops* could be of no Service, and were certainly of a very great Expence, to this Nation. What He said, upon this Head, was not intended as a Charge against the *King*, but only as a Motive to the *House of Commons*, by putting them in Mind that it tended to invalidate and was in Contravention to one of the Limitations of the *Act of Settlement* — He might take Notice, perhaps, that too much Regard had been paid to his Majesty's *German Dominions*; but I am sure He never said that This was a Breach of the *Act of Settlement*. He might observe that the *Act of Settlement* was the only *Tenure*, by which his Majesty holds his *Crown*; and I will defy you, Sir, to mention any other *Tenure*, upon which he can depend — It is the strongest and most glorious *Tenure*, by which any Prince can hold his *Crown*.

Thus

(II)

Thus stands the Fact ; and I will leave the World to determine whether any Man, who had any Regard to Decency, Conscience, or even common Honesty, would put such an Interpretation upon Words so very innocent and even laudable in Themselves.—Is this *attacking the Royal Title to the Crown?*—Is This *invading the Prince on the Throne?*—Is This *charging Him with having broken the Act of Settlement, and leaving others to conclude that the Throne is become vacant?*—No, Sir, I believe there was not one Man in the whole House, who concluded This to be his Meaning, except yourself; and I would even appeal to your own Judgment, if I could put any Trust in your Declarations.

The *Act of Settlement* is a complicated Bill, consisting of various Conditions, some of much less Importance than others; which are left to the farther Discretion of Parliament.—For Instance, there is one Clause of a very essential Nature, which limits the Succession of the Crown to the *present Royal Family*, as long as they continue *Protestants*. I think I may call This indispensable; because it is the Foundation of the *present Establishment*.—There was another Clause in it, which prohibited the Possessor of the Throne from going out of the Kingdom *without Consent of Parliament*. This was repealed soon after his late

Majesty's Accession; but supposing it had not been repealed, and that a sudden Exigence of State had made it necessary for his late Majesty to go out of the Kingdom, before He could call his Parliament together for their Consent; will any Man say that, even in this Case He would have *forfeited his Title to the Crown*? No Man certainly would say it. As the Condition was not *fundamental* in it self, so an occasional Deviation from it, on a particular, extraordinary Emergence, could not have been interpreted a *Forfeiture of the Royal Title*.—In like Manner, if any bad Consequences should hereafter arise from the Repeal of this Limitation (suppose, for Instance, that some future Prince should think fit to reside chiefly abroad) might not any *Member of the House of Commons* complain of it and offer his Reasons for putting it in Force again, without incurring such a grievous Imputation as *That of attacking the Royal Title and declaring the Throne vacant*? Is there not a manifest Difference between the King's obtaining the *Consent of his Parliament*, upon such an Occasion, and breaking through these Limitations without their Authority? — But no Body can be surprized at such monstrous Constructions in *One*, who hath used his utmost Endeavours to bring all our Liberties into Contempt, in order to make the Conquest of them more easy.

Believe me, good Sir, that whenever you endeavour to fix *Jacobitism* upon *this Gentleman*, you will always miscarry in your Design. Such Insinuations will never find Credit in any Place, unless it be in a *certain Closet*, where you have frequent Opportunities of working upon the Passions by false Representations, and instilling the Sentiments of your own *bad Heart* without Contradiction. I dare say *this Closet* is the only Place in the Kingdom, where your Assertions can gain any Belief, or where the *Gentleman*, whom you traduce, can be thought a *Jacobite*, even for half an Hour. —Good God! what a Multitude of *Falshoods* must you have told in this *Closet*? There is a current Report, that the *Person*, with whom you converse there, hath lately detected you in some of them, and hath told you very plainly that you *lyed*; nay, as He knows you thoroughly and must hate you heartily, that He hath likewise given you some *certain Appellations*, which, however justly They may belong to You, I think, at present, a little too harsh for me to repeat in publick.

The Gentleman, whom I defend, was not only educated in *whig Principles*, but hath always and I dare say will always act upon them. He was ever zealously attach'd to the Protestant Succession in the present royal Family. He is still zealous for the Support of it; and if, by the Influence of your pernicious Counsels, the Affections of the People should ever

be so far alienated as to bring his Majesty's Title into Dispute, or Danger, (which God forbid!) He will venture his Life and Fortune as far as any Man in the Defence of it.—He cannot, at the same Time, be so great a Sycophant, as to say *that the People are allowed greater Liberties than ever were at any Time heretofore known, or enjoy'd amongst us.* We enjoy the *Liberties* We ought to enjoy, and no more. We have as good a Right to them, as the King hath to his *Crown*.

Another Proof that *this Gentleman* hath deserted his *old Principles* is, that *He hath gone over to the Tories, and constantly votes in Conjunction with a Body of Men, sworn Enemies to Whigs, to whig Establishments, and to all whig Principles.*——But how does this appear? His *voting in Conjunction with the Tories* is no Proof that *He hath gone over to the Tories*, any more than *their voting in Conjunction with Him* is a Proof that *They are come over to Him*, so as to be led and govern'd by Him. Does he concur with them in any Thing but *whig Points*, upon *whig Principles*, and in Opposition to Measures destructive of the Constitution? —— But why is *this Gentleman* particularly mark'd out as a Convert to the *Tories*? If *voting in Conjunction with the Tories* is to be look'd on as *going over to the Tories*, this Charge will equally include *all the Gentlemen*
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in the Minority, who have the Honour to dissent from you within Doors. I will include that *great Majority of the Nation*, which openly inveighs against your Measures without Doors. Nay, it will include even *your own dear Self*, and I will undertake to prove *you* to have been a *Jacobite* (pray, Sir, don't startle at the Name) by the same Rule.—Did not you formerly *vote in Conjunction with the very same Persons*, when you distinguished yourself by the Name of a *Country Gentleman*? —Did you not *act in Concert with them*, upon all Occasions; and was you not as much *led and govern'd* by them as *this Gentleman*? Were the *Tories* less Enemies to *Whigs*, *whig Establishments* and *whig Principles* at that Time, than They are at present?—Did you then discover any Qualms at the Transactions of the *four last Years of Queen Anne*; or think yourself obliged in Conscience never to join with a Set of *Gentlemen*, when you thought them *in the Right*, because you formerly thought them *in the Wrong*? —I will go farther, Sir, and maintain that you have been a *Jacobite*, according to your own Doctrine, and in the Interest of the *Pretender*, even since your last blessed Restoration to Power?—Have you not taken several *Tories*, *veteran Tories* (I will not call them *Jacobites*) into your Administration?—Was not *one* of them excepted out of an *Act of Grace* in his late Majesty's Reign; and did not others
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lye under the same Imputation of Disaffection? — Did you *not* constantly vote in *Conjunction* and *act* in *Concert* with *these Men*? I am loth to rake up the Ashes of the Dead, though you are pleas'd to tell us that *neither Decency, nor Modesty forbids the just Defence of a Character under Accusation*; but the Reader's Reflection will spare me that ungrateful Task; and I believe it would be no difficult Matter to point out *some Persons*, of the same Stamp, amongst the present *Co-partners of your Power*; or, if that Expression should give you Offence, the Instruments of *your Administration*.— Shall we then say that you are gone over to the *Tories*? — Shall We presume to insinuate that the *most noble Knight* is turn'd a *Jacobite* and suffers Himself to be govern'd by *Men, who oppos'd the Revolution and labour'd for many Years, with all their Might, to impose the Pretender on the British Nation*? — God forbid! — I know very well that you have a Distinction in Reserve, which hath been often made use of by *You* and your *ingenious Mercenaries*, upon these Occasions. It is compriz'd in a very laconick Style and runs thus.—“ *When a Tory, or a Jacobite, or a Papist comes into my Measures, it is a plain Sign that He is a very good Whig; but when any known Whig, who opposes Me, happens to concur with a reputed Tory, nothing can be more evident than that He hath deserted his Principles, is turn'd a*
Jacobite,

“ Jacobite, and hath a Design of bringing in the
 “ Pretender.

But give me Leave to tell you, *dear Sir*, that such Stuff will not pass. The senseless Distinction of *Whig* and *Tory* is, God be praised ! almost sunk in a general Concern for the national Interest; and will, I hope, be soon intirely abolished, notwithstanding all your Endeavours, for vile Ends, to keep those fatal Animosities alive. The *Whigs*, who oppose you, are neither govern'd by the *Tories*, nor are the *Tories* govern'd by *Them*; but they act in Concert together (and may They long continue to do so !) because it is their united Opinion that you are a *wicked*, as well as a *weak Minister*, and have almost brought this Nation to the Brink of Ruin.

The next Charge against *this Gentleman* is, that *He opposes the King's Affairs in general and attempts to distress the publick Service in every Branch of the Government.*

I presume, *noble Sir*, you would have the *King's Affairs* and the *publick Service* understood, in this Paragraph, as synonymous Terms; and so, indeed, They ought always to be understood. If This is your Meaning, I defy you to prove that the *Gentleman*, whom you accuse, *opposes the King's*
 C *Affairs*

Affairs in general, or attempts to distress the publick Service ; that is, to obstruct any Thing, which is evidently calculated for the true Interest of the Nation. I could give several Instances of national Points, which are chiefly owing to Him. I could mention several others, which He hath been very instrumental in promoting, and many more, which He never attempted to defeat, since his Opposition to you. Nay, even in the King's own private Affairs He hath shewn all the Regard for his Majesty's Honour and the Dignity of the Crown, which is consistent with the Good of the Publick. You are pleased, good Sir, to reproach Him with one Instance of this Kind, of which I shall take Notice in its proper Place.— But if you include your self and your own dirty Projects (as I very much suspect you do) in the general Terms of the King's Affairs and the publick Service, it must be confess'd, indeed, that this Gentleman hath constantly opposed them and, I hope, will always attempt to distress them. — It is the most shining Part of his Character and will transmit his Name with Honour to Posterity.

I do not remember that He struggled to put off the common Supplies of the present Year ; but if He did, would any Whig, of former Times, have reproach'd Him with it; or call'd it acting like a Tory?

Tory?—If He saw a manifest Design of hurrying on the *Session* and precipitating the *Supplies*, was He to blame in endeavouring to keep them back a little, when no urgent Necessity press'd for the Dispatch of them, that the *House* might have Time to look into *other Affairs*, and pass some *other useful Bills*, as well as *Money-Bills*?—Is This, I say, going over to the *Tories*, or acting upon *Tory Principles*?

I could produce Instances of Times, when even the *common and necessary Supplies for the current Service of the Year* have been oppos'd and refus'd in *whig Parliaments*, in order to distress a *corrupt Minister*, whom they did not think proper to be intrusted with the publick Money; and I could mention *some much wiser Men than your self*, who have acted upon this Principle, in former Reigns, and justified their Conduct upon it; but This would be needless; because here again we are authoriz'd by your *own illustrious Example*; for how will you be able to vindicate your own Conduct either in the *late Reign*, or in That of *Queen Anne* upon any other Principle?—Will you offer to say that you never *voted against the common Supplies*, or *attempted to distress the publick Service*? Look into the *Defection consider'd* and see what is there said of you upon this Head. — The Thing is so notorious, that it would be arrant Trifling to

enter into the Proof of it; and I believe even *You* will hardly have the Front to deny it.

This Gentleman is farther charged with having lately declared his Opinion, *that not one Treaty signed within these sixteen Years, was even made, or so much as intended, for the Good of this Kingdom.*

I heartily wish, not for *your Sake*, but for the Good of the *Publick*, that there may not be too much Truth in this Declaration; which can appear only by a particular Examination of *those Treaties*; and This cannot be done at present.

But, in order to aggravate the Guilt of this Declaration, it is added *that the Gentleman* accused formerly voted *those very Treaties* honourable, and asserted *those Allyances* to be necessary, *which He now condemns.*—This is another downright Falshood. He is not answerable for any of those *silly Treaties*, which the Course of *sixteen Years* hath produced. As he had no Share in the Negotiation of them, so it never fell in his Way, till very lately, to express any Opinion of them in Parliament. Whilst He was in Employment, his Business was of another Nature, and He is at full Liberty to declare, without any Inconsistency, that not one of the *Treaties*, made within this Time, would have been

been necessary, if it was not for his Majesty's *German Dominions*. The *first Treaty*, that was made, in the Year 1716, was for the Sake of the *Emperor's general Guaranty of all Dominions, which each of the contracting Parties possessed at that Time*. What Use could the Emperor's Guaranty be of to the *British Dominions*, or the *Protestant Succession*? We live in an Island, of great maritime Force, and can support *our selves* and *our own Possessions*, without any other Guaranty than the Affections of the People.—But the *Emperor's Guaranty* is apparently of the utmost Service to his Majesty's *foreign Dominions*.—The *Quadruple Alliance*, was form'd, when *this Gentleman* was abroad; and all that plentiful Crop of *Treaties*, which hath been produced since, are of but very little Use to *Great Britain*, as her Interest is solely concern'd; so that in this Particular likewise the *Gentleman* is intirely consistent with Himself.

I believe This will be thought a sufficient Answer to the different Branches of the Charge brought against the *Gentleman*, whom I defend, *that he hath changed his Notions of Right and Wrong in Matters of Government, and renounced the Principles of good Policy, which he formerly profess'd*.

If the Conduct of your Life, *most noble Sir*, was to be scrutiniz'd in the same Manner, what an odd

odd Medley of Inconsistencies should we discover ; for though *You* was educated in *whig Principles* as well as *this Gentleman*, you have not only acted in Concert with *Tories*, upon several Occasions, but adopted the worst Principles, in your late Conduct, that the most extravagant Bigots of *that Party* ever advanced.——Scarce two Years together of your Life have been of a Piece.——You have been an intemperate Zealot against *France* ; a most obsequious Dupe to *France* ; and seem to be now relapsing into your old Aversion to *France* again.——You have courted and provoked *Spain* by Turns, in the same capricious Manner, without any good Reason for *either*. It was not long ago that *you* and your *Mercenaries* asserted that the Peace of *Utrecht* left *France* too weak and made the *Emperor* too strong ; but your Change of Measures hath alter'd your Opinion in that Point.——In short, you have gone from Court to Court, fluctuated from Expedient to Expedient, knock'd down one Treaty with another, and trod in a constant Circle of Inconsistencies and Contradictions.

But now, *Sir*, as your Blood grows warm, you advance in your Charge, and bring an heavier Accusation against *this Gentleman* than That of having *chang'd his Notions in Matters of Government*. You accuse Him of *Corruption*. The Words are, *that whilst He concurr'd with the Government, He*

never

never opposed either publick Profusion, or private Corruption; that He Himself shared the Bounties and added to the Pensions of the Crown.

Would not any one, upon reading this Paragraph, conclude that Mr. P. hath frequently obtain'd *beneficial Grants*, and been a constant *Pensioner* on the Crown? And yet He defies the whole World to prove that He ever received any Thing from the *Crown* but a Present, which his late Majesty made Him, of the *Journals of Parliament*. You once descended so low as to reproach Him with this Present in the *House*; but so much to your own Shame and Confusion, that I thought you would never have ventur'd to mention it again. Surely, it little becomes You to reproach any Body with what They obtain from the *Crown*. A Man, who hath had so many Grants, and such a Number of great Employments for Himself and his Family, should be always silent on this Head. — This brings to my Mind a most pitiful, little, dirty Job of yours, which I believe is not publickly known.

When the *late King* went abroad, and *both the Secretaries* attended Him, (from some Jealousy, perhaps, of each other) it was necessary to appoint *another* for carrying on the Business at home; and lest somebody, whom you did not like, should be appointed,

appointed, you offer'd to do the Business *yourself*; which was little more than transmitting of Letters, and other Things of Form; but though you had scarce any Trouble in this Affair; though you had, God knows, many other lucrative Employments; and though you was in it only as a Stop-gap, for a few Months; yet you paid yourself the *full Appointments* for the Time; and, not content with That, allow'd yourself likewise the *secret-Service Money* for the Time; nay, what is still more monstrous, gave your self the very *Plate*, as if you had actually been made *Secretary of State* in Form, and for a Continuance. I believe I may add, that This is not the only Instance, in which you have sign'd the Warrant, as *Head of the Treasury*, for paying your self in *other Employments*. —Why, all the *Journals* together did not, I dare say, cost, so much as even your *Plate* only, for being *Secretary* but four Months. —Well; but hath not *this Gentleman* had a *Pension*? No; you know he scorns it, and wonders how any Man of Honour can submit to take one. —Hath he recommended any *poor Relation*, or *Friend* for a *Pension*? No; not for *twenty Pounds* a Year.—What then can be meant by this Passage, *that He hath added to the Pensions of the Crown*? Why, a scandalous Insinuation, reflecting on the Character of a *noble Person*, who is infinitely your Superior; *One*, to whose Father you owe the great-
est

est Obligations; *One*, who hath all the Honour, Virtue and Integrity of his Father; and whom I should be unwilling even to vindicate from so foul an Aspersion, if you had not often repeated the same Thing in private Conversation.

You would have it understood, *Sir*, by this Passage, that the *Gentleman's* insisting to be made *Cofferer* render'd it necessary for you to provide some other Employment for the *Person*, who enjoy'd it, and that This oblig'd you to give Him the great Employment, He now enjoys, which you have the Insolence to call a *Pension*, and to say that the *Gentleman* I defend oblig'd you to add, in this Manner, to the *Pensions* of the Crown.—The Truth of the Case is This. When that great Inheritance devolved to this *honourable Person*, it was generally imagin'd that some Compliments (how little desirous soever He might be of them Himself) would be paid to Him, by an Increase of *Honours*, an offer of the *Garter*, or the like, and that this Employment would be scarce worth troubling Himself with any longer. Upon this Foot it was mention'd by a Friend of Mr. *P.* to the *Ministers*; and upon this Foot, and no other, He express'd his Inclination to accept of it; but He had not the Vanity to think Himself of Consequence enough to thrust out this *noble Person*, for whom He always had the highest Esteem, and to force

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Him into the Circumstance of becoming (as you insolently assert) a *Pensioner on the Crown*.—My Regard for the Honour of this *great Person* hath made me dwell the longer on this Point; and if He hath formerly had any Regard or Partiality for the *Author of this Obloquy*, I dare say He will, for the future, look on Him with that Contempt, which such a vile Insinuation deserves.

As for the *Gentleman*, whom I defend, you tell us *that the genuine Rise of his publick Spirit was from the Corruption of his own Heart*.——Alas! *dear Sir*, the *Corruption of thy Heart and Hands* too hath been long ago recorded; but as the Corruption of *this Gentleman* hath been hitherto a Secret to the World, you would do mighty well to give us some Instances of it.——If you had any such Anecdotes in your Power, I presume We should have seen them long ago.

If you mean, *Sir*, that *this Gentleman* is answerable for all the *Pensions, Bribes and Gratuities*, which you have thought fit to lavish away upon your *Creatures, Dependents and Advocates*, in order to defeat his Opposition, and support your self in Power, against the general Clamour of the Nation; I am afraid I have undertaken a very difficult Task; for if this Load of *Corruption* ought to be saddled upon Him, as the original Cause

Cause of it, how shall I defend Him?—Don't you remember the Case of *another publick Plunderer*, of a lower Rank, who endeavour'd to screen Himself from Punishment by *bribing the Jury*; and, being detected in it, laid all the Blame upon his *Prosecutors*, and the *Court*, whom He charg'd with having enter'd into a manifest Combination to take away his Life?

But you tell us, that *there was a Time, when He thought it the highest Honour and first Distinction of his Life to be rank'd in the Number of that great Man's Friends*, (meaning *your self*) *whose very Name and Character hath given Him the small Consideration, which He hath found even in his Opposition.*

Very modestly said truly! —The only Misfortune is that This likewise happens to be false, like most of your other Assertions; for I am well assured that *this Gentleman* was so far from ever *thinking it the highest Honour and the first Distinction of his Life, to be rank'd in the Number of your Friends*, that at the very Time, when he acted with you, and endeavour'd to support you, He had much the same Opinion of *your private Character*, which He hath at present. Do you think that all Those, who play'd at *Nine-Pins* with you in the *Tower*, had, for that Reason, any Regard for you, on Account of your *personal Integrity*,

any more than many Persons, who act with you at present?—No; These are the unhappy Effects of *Party-Prejudices*, which often depress Men of the greatest Abilities, whilst the most unworthy are exalted. Have We not an Instance of This, in the Case of the *other Gentleman*, aspersed in your *Libel*, who hath been prevented, by this Misfortune, from exerting his unquestionable Capacities in the Service of his Country, whilst such a *Pedlar in Politicks*, as your self, have been thrust up into the highest Station, and had the Power of acting so long to the infinite Dishonour and Detriment of the Nation?

But supposing the *Gentleman*, under Consideration, ever really had that high Opinion of you, which *you* and your *Dunciad Advocates* are willing to make the World believe; what is it to the Purpose?—Is it not possible for a Man, who sets out in the World with a *good Character*, to forfeit it afterwards; and is it necessary for every Person, who was his Friend, whilst He seem'd to act upon *honest Principles*, to continue so, when his Actions discover the *contrary*?—Your great Predecessors, *Sejanus*, *Wolfey* and *Buckingham*, might be very *honest Men*, for aught I know, before their Heads were turn'd giddy with exorbitant Power, and any Person, perhaps, might have
been

been proud of their Friendship; but would any honest Man have continued in it, after They began to lord it over their Country, in so licentious and insolent a Manner? — Indeed, *Sir*, You should never insist on these Topicks in your *Libels*. They may do well enough in a *popular Assembly*, where you are sure of being heard with Patience at least; but you should never trust such idle Trash in *Print*!

In order to vindicate *this Gentleman* from the Charge of acting from Motives of *Disappointment* and *Revenge* (with which our Ears have been almost stunn'd for above these *four Years past*) it was ask'd, in the *Craftsman*, *whether the Abuse, which He apprehends you make of your Power; whether Measures, which He fears are wicked, knows to be weak, and sees obstinately pursued, may not be his Motives?* — To This you reply, *what an Heap of meer Possibilities are here started against a positive Charge?* — Pray, good *Sir*, how is This a *positive Charge?* — For want of *Facts* against *this Gentleman*, of which every Body is a Judge, you accuse Him of acting from *bad Motives*, of which God only can judge; and then call This a *positive Charge?* — We might as justly surmise that the Design of your long Endeavours to engross all Power to yourself, and of accumulating Wealth in so exorbitant a Manner, was to *supplant the present*

sent royal Family, and set your self on the Throne I say, We might accuse you of *such a Design*, and then call this *supposed Motive* a *positive Charge*, as justly as you accuse *this Gentleman* of acting from Motives of *Disappointment* and *Revenge*; nay, We might accuse you of it more justly; because the *Facts*, of *accumulating Wealth* and *engrossing Power*, upon which We might found our Accusation, are notorious and undeniable; whereas you are intirely destitute of any *Facts* to support your Charge.

But you desire to ask a few Questions-----*Did He not expect*, say you, *and insist on a great Employment*? *Was He not disappointed and refused in this Expectation and Demand*?—I say positively *No*; and the Proof lies upon *You*. Such a *positive Charge* as This will admit of no other Answer than a *positive Denial*—But of This more hereafter.

Taking this Fact to be granted, (*that He expected and insisted on a great Employment*) you go on most triumphantly in the following Strain—*Had He been gratify'd, instead of being disappointed; had he been comply'd with, instead of being refus'd; would he have feared any Wickedness, or have found out any Weakness in this Administration*? I defy Him, say you, and all his *Sophisters* to contradict me in This—With what Folly and Nonsense do these few Words abound? For,

First,

First, it seems to be acknowledged by your self, in this Paragraph, that you have been guilty both of *Wickedness* and *Weakness* in your Administration; and the only Suggestion is that the *Gentleman*, against whom it is level'd, would neither have *feared the one*, or *found out the other*, had he been gratify'd in his Expectations, but would have conniv'd at both, like the present *Instruments of your Power*.——What an excellent Defence hast Thou here made of thy Administration; and what infinite Satisfaction must it give to the good People of England? *It is true, indeed, say You, that I have been guilty of a great deal of Wickedness and Weakness; but you may e'en set your Hearts at ease, Gentlemen; for I assure you, upon my Word and Honour, that if I had gratify'd Mr. P. in his Expectations, he would have let me gone on, in the same Manner, as quietly as Those, whom I have substituted in his Room.*

But, farther, these Words are as full of *Nonsense*, as They are of *Folly*——We are defy'd to *contradict You in This* —— In what? —— Why, that Mr. P. would not have been as *wicked as your self and your Instruments*, if He had succeeded in his *supposed Expectations*.——We certainly could *contradict you in This*; but it is not our Way to *contradict* any Man without *some Proof*; and This is a Point, which will admit of none; for who can
decide

decide upon Contingencies? Who can pretend absolutely to determine what any *Gentleman* would have done, in such a Case? For my Part, I will not be so great a Flatterer of *this Gentleman*, tho' I have undertaken his Defence, as to say what He would, or would not have done; but thus much I may say, without any such Imputation, that all the probable Circumstances are against you from *this Gentleman's* former Behaviour, when in Employment.——Did He discover any *Weakness*, or *Incapacity* to discharge those Offices, which He hath had the Honour to fill? — Was he ever guilty of any *Wickedness*, and *Corruption* in them Himself; or did he ever screen the *Wickedness* and *Corruption* of others? —— We may therefore suppose that if *this Gentleman* had been in Employment, he would not have given you an Opportunity of being guilty of so much *Weakness* and *Wickedness*; or, at least, not have concurr'd with you in any Measures, which he apprehended to be either *wicked*, or *weak* —— Sure We are that he oppos'd you in several favourite Points, whilst he was in Place; and This will immediately appear to be the Reason why he was thought not to be a proper Person to be continued in it.

Your next Paragraph deserves no Answer. When you are pleas'd to give us those *irrefragable*

able Proofs of this Gentleman's Lust of Power, Appetite for Wealth, and over-bearing Spirit, with which you say you could croud innumerable Pages, We may be induc'd to take them into Consideration. At present, it will be sufficient to observe that these Marks most certainly distinguish your Character, whatever Analogy They may bear to That of the Gentleman, whom I defend.

You seem very angry that *this Gentleman* should be said to have *contributed to your Elevation*; and I promise you He is very far from taking any Glory to Himself from that Circumstance of his Life. ——— *I should be glad, say you, to know wherein this important Person contributed to the Minister's Elevation* ——— I shall not stop here to satisfy You in this Particular; because I shall be able, before I go much farther, to convince You, in some Measure, out of your own Mouth. ——— You proceed thus. *If I remember rightly, this Minister (meaning your self again) brought the Gentleman into Places, which He was no Ways intitled to, and when He was even more insignificant than He is at present* ——— Why really, Sir, bringing People into Places, to which They are no Ways intitled to, hath been one of the most distinguishing Parts of your Life; but if you brought *this Gentleman* into Place, You was certainly a little inconsistent with your self, according to the Confession of one

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of

of your *Creatures*, if not *your self*; for in that ever-memorable Libel, properly called *Defamation displayed*, it is said that *this Gentleman came into the World with all the Advantages, that recommend Men to the Esteem, Favour and Approbation of Mankind*——But, perhaps, you might have been so good as to make Him a Present of *all these Advantages*, at the same Time that you gave Him his *Places*.

You seem, *Sir*, to have quite forgot your *own Circumstances* at the Time, when *this Gentleman* was first advanc'd to a publick Employment. Whatever *He* might be, every Body knows that *You, Sir, was much more insignificant at that Time than you are at present*; and you might as well have said that *He was raised by a WRETCH, who had not Credit enough to raise an hundred Pounds upon his own Security*.

You are now pleas'd to enter into the Examination whom *We* shall soonest suspect of being actuated by *Sentiments of private Interest*, this Gentleman, or the Minister; that is *your self*; and you determine it thus——*As to the Question, whom shall We soonest suspect? Let Those, who consider the sparing, scraping Nature of the one, with the frank, liberal Heart of the other, fix the Charge of sordid Views on Him, to whom They think it justly belongs.*

For

For my Part, I really never heard that *Avarice* was a distinguishing Quality in *this Gentleman's* Character, till *You* and your *dirty Mercenaries* endeavoured to asperse him with it, to serve your own scandalous Purposes; nor will any Body, who hath the Honour to know him, believe it, though *you* should redouble your Pains to fix that Asperſion upon him.—I believe, it would be no difficult Matter to produce ſeveral Inſtances of the contrary, upon various Occaſions, if it were either needful, or proper; but That would be paying too much Deference to your Invective, and too poor a Compliment to the *Gentleman's* Character.

A *juſt OEconomy* in the Management of his private Fortune is ſurely no ways blameable. It is, on the contrary, an amiable Virtue at all Times, and peculiarly ſo at preſent, when *Luxury*, *Extravagance* and *Profuſion* are almoſt grown epidemical Vices. In ſuch an Age, *OEconomy* is not only laudable, but even neceſſary to keep a Man independent of the Smiles or Frowns of a *Court*, which have too much Influence on publick Affairs. It is not in the leaſt improbable, Sir, that This may be the Motive of all your late Reſentment againſt *this Gentleman's OEconomy and prudent Management*. Such Virtues cannot be agreeable to your Schemes; and a Man, who ſeems to have a Deſign of *beggaring the Nation*, ought not to wiſh to ſee many Gentlemen in Oppolition to him,

(though it is, at present, your unhappy Case) of plentiful Fortunes, and who live within their Income.

Every Gentleman hath certainly a Power over his *own Property*, and may dispose of it as he pleases ; but amongst all *this Gentleman's sparing and scraping* (according to your candid Representation) did he ever *scrape* any unjust Gains out of the *Publick* ? — Can you charge him with one single Instance of *Corruption* in either of those Employments, through which He hath pass'd ? — *Prove That* ; for what you have hitherto said is nothing to the Purpose. — I need not put *You* in Mind of the Difference of your Behaviour in the *same Office*, which *this Gentleman* afterwards possess'd. The *Journals of the House of Commons* save me that Trouble ; and, perhaps, *this Gentleman's* Presumption in deviating from so great an Example may have been forgiven.

But who can forbear laughing to hear thy *frank, liberal Heart* applauded ? — What Instances hast Thou ever given ; what Tokens hast Thou discover'd of it ? — Dost Thou call the Profusion of the publick Treasure on a worthless Crew of *Pimps, Spies, Projectors* and *abandon'd Scribblers*, for thy own secret Service, Instances of *personal Generosity* ? — Are These the Marks of *real* and
disinter-

disinterested Munificence? — At this Rate, *Catiline* was a Man of a *frank, liberal Heart*; for He had just such another set of *profligate Wretches* about Him and rewarded Them, in the same Manner, with the Plunder of the Publick.

In the next Paragraph, you give us the *Rent-Roll* of *this Gentleman's Estate* and an Account how He came by it—You say *that the Gentleman possesses an enormous Estate of above nine thousand Pounds per Annum; ALL acquired only by a Secretary of the Treasury. The Minister's Estate, far from being exorbitant, was acquired in so high a Station as at the Head of that Treasury, where the Gentleman's little Possessions were pick'd up by the Secretary; and which Possessions He, this Gentleman, obtain'd the Fee-simple of by the Favour, Indulgence and Assistance of that Minister, whom He hath sworn to destroy.*

What a Number of *impudent, silly Falshoods* does this single Paragraph contain? — I am very sensible that it can be of little Use, or Entertainment to the Publick, to give them a Detail of a *Gentleman's private Estate*; but you, Sir, have made it necessary for his Defence. You have brought a sort of a *Writ of Enquiry* against Him, and obliged Him to set forth not only the *Particulars* of it and his *Title* to it, but even an *Account*
how

how it was originally acquired——But We must submit to the Task you have been pleased to impose upon us.

In the *first Place*, you are very particular in your Account of *this Gentleman's Estate*. One would imagine that you had made it your Business to enquire minutely into his Circumstances. If you have given your self this Trouble, you must have had the Mortification to discover that He is able to support Himself in the Resolution, if He hath really taken any, not to burthen Himself with the Load of any other Employment; but whether his Estate is more or less than is here represented, I dare answer for *this Gentleman*, that He is contented with it, whatever it may be; that He is very little solicitous about the Increase of it, and is determin'd not to be so unjust to his Posterity as to diminish it.

Well; but this Estate of *nine Thousand Pounds per Annum* was all acquir'd, you say, by a *Secretary of the Treasury*. Why, the *Secretary-Skip of the Treasury* is most certainly, *Sir*, a very good Employment; and for that Reason you have been extremely in the right always to have either a *Brother*, or a *Son* in it; but really, *Sir*, the *Secretary* you mention did not get *nine Thousand Pounds a Year* there; and yet, I think, He enjoyed

joy'd that Employment, either solely or in Part, for *three successive Reigns*; after which He did not leave, at his Death, *forty thousand Pounds* in Money (great Part of which He rais'd by Sale of his *paternal Estate*) and not above *five hundred Pounds a Year* in Land, which came to Him by Inheritance; Part of which is now a Lease from the *City*, and Part a Lease from a *Bishop*. — Here then We have plainly detected one Falsehood.

You say farther, that the *Fee-simple* of this *nine Thousand Pounds per Annum* was obtained of the *Crown*, on very easy Terms, by the Favour, Indulgence and Assistance of that Minister, whom He hath sworn to destroy.

Would not the World be induced to believe, from this Assertion, (if any Body had made it, except *your self*) that the *Gentleman's* whole Estate was a *Lease-hold* from the *Crown*, and that You, in your great Goodness, had converted it into *Freehold*?—But let us see how *this Fact* will come out.

The Reader will perceive, from what hath been said, that the whole, which *this Gentleman* inherited from the *Secretary of the Treasury*, was not above *fifty Thousand Pounds*, or thereabouts, all in Money, or *Lease-hold Land*, from the *Church* and

and the City of *London*, which now remains such. How therefore could the *Fee-simple* of This be obtain'd from the *Crown*?—*Dear Sir*, inform yourself better, before you venture to amuse the World again with such *personal Affairs*.

It is true, indeed, that *this Gentleman* hath a very large *Estate*, which hath been in his Family for many Generations. Some Part of this Estate was held by a *Lease from the Crown*; of which there was a Term of *Ninety-nine Years* to come after a Term, that was then in Being. His *Grandfather* left this Leasehold Part of his Estate in *Trustees*, to be sold for the Purchase of other Lands of Inheritance. Upon this Occasion, he apply'd to the *Crown* to buy off the Inheritance; not as a Favour, but as a fair Purchaser, and was at the Expence of an *Act of Parliament* to obtain it. He paid more than Sir *Isaac Newton*, or any other Calculator, computes the Value of such a Purchase to be; for it cost him altogether, with Charges, a *Year's Purchase* to make it Inheritance; and I believe nobody will pretend to argue that an Inheritance after a Term of above an hundred Years to come, is worth *one Year's Purchase*; nor would *this Gentleman* have given one single Shilling for it, if it had not been to get his Estate out of *Trustees* Hands.

This

This is the Fact; and what was the Value of the Estate thus purchased? Not above *twelve*, or *thirteen hundred Pounds a Year*; which is but a small Part of *this Gentleman's* Estate, even according to your *own Calculation*; most of which was Land of Inheritance before. How different, *Sir*, is this Story from what is related by you? What could possibly induce you to state it in this Manner; or how could you entertain any Hopes of imposing so many Falshoods on the World?—— It is very probable, indeed, that you might look upon it as a *dirty Job*, and therefore concluded that nobody, except *your self*, could have carry'd it through the *House*; but it was no more than an *honest Purchase of the Inheritance* of a small Part of *this Gentleman's* Estate, and the *Fairness of the Bargain* prevented all Opposition to the Progress of the *Bill*; whereas you represent this Affair, as if it was a Grant from the *Crown*; that the *King* was deceived in it, and the *Parliament* was deceived in it, and that you help'd to deceive *both*.—— This would really have been a Favour, if the *Gentleman* had had any Occasion for such *dirty Service*; but he always scorn'd to employ you, or any Man, in it; though it is very plain that you would have made no Scruple to be employ'd.

You see, by this Account, that the *Gentleman*
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inherited the greatest Part of his Estate from his *Father* ; that much the most considerable Share of that Estate was Inheritance before, and had been long in his Family ; that he had above an hundred Years to come in the *other Part*, which he purchased dear enough by an *Act of Parliament* ; and that what was left him by the *Secretary of the Treasury* did not amount, in the whole, to *fifty thousand Pounds*, and was all of it *personal Estate*, instead of being *nine thousand Pounds per Annum* in Land, as is here represented.—What a consummate Impudence must you have, *Sir*, thus roundly to assert a Falshood, in which you was sure to be contradicted in a few Days? But *abandon'd Fellows* never value the Shame of being detected, provided they think the Lye will be of some Service to them for a Day, or even for an Hour.

And now, *Sir*, having been forced to give you so very minute and circumstantial an Account of the Estate of *this Gentleman*, it seems not unreasonable to expect some Account of *your own*—Lord, *Sir*, if an Enquiry was to be made into This, what a Scene of Iniquity would be disclosed. It would be certainly one of the most curious *secret Histories*, that ever was published——If you was obliged to explain what your Estate is; where it
lies ;

lies; when you got it; how you got it; from whom you got it; what wonderful Discoveries should We make?—— *Bribes* would appear without Number, from the Time of the *Scotch Forage Contract* to *Wood's Patent*. It must needs be a very entertaining Subject to read how much you have got at the *Head of the Treasury*, and how much in *Exchange Alley*; what *Jobs* contributed to the Building of your *fine new House*, (which you seem terribly afraid *this Gentleman* hath a Design of *pulling down again*) and what particular Mannors were bought with the Sale of *Honours, Places, Pensions* and *Pardons*. We should see an Account of your Acquisitions by *secret Service Money*, given to *fictitious Names* and converted to your *own use*; as well as by the prudent Management of *Navy Bills, Army Debentures* and other *publick Securities*, by which you have gain'd immensely and ruined Thousands, from the infamous *Bank Contract* down to the last Bargain you made with the *East India Company*——I know but *one other Estate in England*, which hath been *scraped* together by such Means; and I make it a Question whether all Mankind will not allow the Proprietor of it to be the honestest Man; *Him* I mean, whom you lately saved from the Gallows; and it is the only Thing you ever did in your Life for nothing, when you had an Opportunity of making a Penny; but perhaps, you might think the Simi-

trude of your Characters and Circumstances made it impolitick to let Him suffer the Punishment, which He deserved.

You seem, Sir, to be terribly afraid of *this Gentleman*; and the *Vow of Destruction*, which He is represented once to have made, seems to run strangely in your Head, notwithstanding all that hath been said to cure you of these dreadful Apprehensions. You call it an *horrid Imprecation*, and your *Dunciad Advocates* have represented it, a thousand Times over, as the most *bloody-minded Vow*, that ever was made, becoming a *Polish Diet* rather than an *English Parliament*. Now in This, Sir, I am obliged to differ from you, and think it perfectly agreeable to the Nature of an *English Parliament* (I mean an *honest, uncorrupt one*) to scrutinize into the Actions of *Ministers*, and even to *destroy* them, if They should appear to be either *wicked*, or *weak*——I am pretty confident, Sir, that if an Accusation should be lodged against you, on either of *these Heads*, your *Ministry* would soon be *destroyed*, and this *terrible Vow* made good; which was, I believe, all that was meant by it——If therefore you are unreasonably frighten'd, who can help your Pusillanimity? But prethee be'nt too much cast down——It may look like Remorse of Conscience, and be thought to proceed from an inward Conviction of Guilt——I
doubt

doubt *Fear* is a principal Ingredient in your Constitution——Come, own the Truth for once. How often have you seen *this Gentleman* in your Dreams with *Axes* and *Halters*? How often have you started up in a Fright and called upon his Name? —It was this self-same Timidity, which once made you expose your self to Him in a very ridiculous Manner —— You may remember, *Sir*, that you came to Him at Midnight, and though He had neither spoke to you nor taken the least Notice of you for two Years before, that you surprized the Family and desired to speak instantly with Him. When He came to you, *Fear* had so possessed you, that you could scarce give the most simple Story, that ever was told, Utterance. With a pale Countenance and a trembling Voice you told Him, *that a Man had writ you a Letter, discovering a most horrid Plot against you, and that your House was to be pulled down and plundered that very Night*——Your Neighbour looked with Disdain upon you and, with a Smile, ask'd you whether *you*, who had been a *Minister* so long, could still be afraid of a *Penny-Post Letter*? This put you somewhat out of Countenance, however uncommon it may be; but recovering your self a little, you reply'd that 'This was more than a common *Penny-Post Letter*; for the Man, who had over-heard the Conspiracy, had sign'd his Name; that He then lay wounded at the *George Tavern*,

Tavern, and Mr. *Jenkins*, your trusty Servant, had seen Him——When you had related the whole Story, the *Gentleman* laughed at you extreamly; advised you to go home and sleep quietly, if you could, and He would warrant you that Night from any Harm—The next Morning you seem'd very much concern'd at your own Indiscretion and spared no Pains to suppress the Story; but you had most ridiculously exposed your self to your *Neighbour*, who had Reason enough before, to have the utmost Contempt of you—*Good Sir*, how much might this foolish Piece of Intelligence have cost you; and what did your *frank, liberal Heart* bestow upon this Occasion? I am apt to think that *Generosity* is far from being the strongest Principle, residing in it.

I don't know how it comes to pass; but *this Gentleman* hath been set forth as a strange *Vower of Vows*. Sometimes He is represented vowing that He will compel you to give Him a *great Employment*; because He laid down *one*, and compelled you to take *another* away. In the very next Page, He is drawn making a SOLEMN VOW *never to accept of a Place of Trust; or a Share in the Ministry, as long as he lives*; because the *Gentleman*, who made Him a Compliment in the *Craftsman*, deliver'd his Opinion that *it would be hardly possible to persuade Him to it*. But as the *Vow of Destruction* seems

seems to give you most Uneasiness, I will endeavour to explain it, by acquainting the Publick with a Particular, which I am sure will be as agreeable to *Them*, as it may be disagreeable to *You*.

The Distress, in which you have involv'd your self, hath oblig'd you to tamper with several Gentlemen in the *Opposition*, and to put your own vile Glosses on these Negotiations, when you have fail'd in them. This hath induc'd Them to consult one another upon this Head. I believe the Acquisitions, which you have lately made amongst them, will give you no additional Strength, or Credit; and it will be in vain for you to make any farther Attempts; for know, *Sir*, that They are come to a determin'd Resolution, and it is a Measure taken amongst them, not to listen to any *Treaty* of this Kind whatsoever, or from whomsoever it may come, in which the first and principal Condition shall not be to *deliver you up to the Justice of your Country*.

You will probably call This a wicked Combination, and Association against you. No, *Sir*; it is an honest Resolution to vindicate the Honour and assert the Laws of our Country. Your Crimes have made it necessary to enter into this Agreement, that all the World may see, and be convinc'd, on what Foot the Opposition is form'd;
that

that is against *You*, and *You only*, as a *wicked Minister*; and that the same Things may not be expected from *Them*, if any of *Them* should ever come into Employment, which your Conduct hath render'd almost *Maxims of Policy*. An Alteration of *Ministers* would be of little Service to the Publick. An Alteration of *Measures* is the Thing expected and requir'd; and nothing can secure us so effectually against the *same Malversations* for the future, as the exemplary Punishment of *You*, who have brought such irreparable Mischiefs on your Country.

Don't flatter your Self, *Sir*, that This is a rash, unadvis'd Measure, taken on a sudden, in a Fit of *personal Repentment*. No, it proceeds from nobler Motives, and is the Result of Hearts warm with a Zeal for the publick Service. It is taken with a Design to prevent all clandestine Negotiations, or secret Bargains, which may be attempted by *your self*, or any *other Person* whatever, for your Retreat and Security——Consider now the desperate Situation, into which you have brought your self. The *Gentlemen*, who openly oppose you, are determined to put you upon your Trial for all the fatal Blunders, and Iniquities of a long Administration. Those, who are obliged unwillingly to support you, wait with Impatience for an Opportunity of giving you up; which They
have

have already discovered an Eagerness of doing, as soon as They shall see that Protection withdrawn, which you receive at present from the Influence of *Power and Corruption*.

You say, Sir, that *the Gentleman*, whom I defend, *laid down his Employment in the War Office for the Sake of this very Minister*, (meaning *your self*) *whom He then supposed would soon, from publick Necessity, come into Power again and be able to give Him a better Place*.

If This is true, where is your *Gratitude* to *this Gentleman*, who laid down so considerable an Employment *for your Sake* ; and may it not be said that the Weight of his great Estate, to say no more, gave some Strength to your Opposition, and contributed to your *present Elevation* ? But We are willing to absolve you from this Obligation ; for He no more laid down his Employment *for your Sake*, than you *raised* Him. He laid it down, because He could not concur with the Measures then carrying on, as He lost *another Employment* since, because He could not concur with *your Measures*. — But pray, Sir, how came you to blab out that foolish Confession, that you design'd to push your self into the Administration again by *publick Necessity*, or the *Exigence of State* ? God knows you made your Words too good. The

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publick Calamity of the *South-Sea Scheme* opened a Door to your Advancement. You seized the Opportunity with eager Arms, and *Fortune* improved it for you; by the Death of several *great Men*, who dropt off, at that Time, one after another, just as your own Heart could wish.——I must, in this Place, put you in Mind of one Circumstance of that Conjunction, (happy for *you*, but fatal to *your Country!*) which ought never to be forgot; I mean, the infamous BANK CONTRACT, drawn up by your *own Hands*, and cancell'd by your *own vile Arts*, to the Ruin of Thousands; a Circumstance, so void of all Honesty, that even none of your most *abandon'd Mercenaries* have attempted to defend it, amongst all their various Apologies for your Blunders and Vindications of your Iniquities.

I must now do another Thing very disagreeable to the *Gentleman* I vindicate, but absolutely necessary under this Attack; that is, open a Scene of private Conversation. I am sorry you should drive us to this Extremity; but your own Doctrine must be our Excuse; that *neither Decency nor Modesty* (noreven the Fear of giving Offence to any Person whatsoever) *forbids the just Defence of a Character under Accusation.*

You say that this Gentleman expected and insisted on having a great Employment; that being
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disappointed in this Expectation, his Patriotism took its Rise from hence; and, in another Place, you say that He resolved to compel you to make Him SECRETARY OF STATE.

This is a direct Falshood.—If the *Gentleman* expected and insisted on having the Seals, He must have declared his Expectations to *somebody*, and have peremptorily insisted on it *some where, or other*. If he was *refus'd* (as you alledge) He must have been refused by *somebody*. Now, you are desy'd to name any one Person, to whom He ever mention'd this Matter. I have heard Him positively declare, upon his Honour, that He never once spoke to the *late King*, to the *present King*, or to any *Minister* whatsoever on this Affair. He positively declares farther that *no Minister* ever spoke to Him of it, but *your self*, and then in a very cursory Manner. It seems, you came up to Him, one Day, in the *House of Commons*, and told Him that when either of the *Secretaries* were removed, the *Ministers* had their Eyes upon Him for that Employment. To This He made you no Answer whatever; but bow'd and smil'd, to let you know He understood your Meaning; for This happen'd just at the Time, when Application was to be made to Parliament for Payment of the Debts of the *Civil List*, which you was apprehensive *this Gentleman* would oppose; and it may be reasonably

sonably presumed that you gave Him this gracious Hint with a Design to soften Him in that Particular. You might suppose that such a Temptation could not fail of Prevalency in this Age; but you found your self mistaken. Here is a manifest Proof that the *Gentleman* had no Ambition to be *Secretary of State*; for He would not comply with the Condition, on which you seem'd to offer it. He stuck to his Point, in opposing the *civil List Debt*, and for that Cause, and That alone, was turn'd out of his Employment of *Cofferer*.

There is one Circumstance in this Affair, which hath never yet been explain'd to the World; and upon which the Enemies of *this Gentleman* have triumph'd extremely; as if He was naturally of an unsteady Temper; or that They had at length found out Means to gain Him over; for after the Opposition He had given to this Affair in every Step of it, He voted, in the last Instance, for the Question. The Truth of that Affair is this. The *late King* had of himself, or as He was advis'd by his *Ministers*, frequently try'd *the Gentleman* on this Point and hoped to persuade Him to be for it. He us'd all the Arguments He could; urg'd to Him all the Motives he thought could possibly engage Him; but all to no Purpose. He continued inflexible. At length, the *King* said to Him, *it is*
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hard you will not let me be an honest Man. What would you, continued his Majesty, think your self of one, who refused to pay his Butcher, his Baker and other honest Tradesmen? — To This the Gentleman reply'd, not a little affected with his Majesty's last Argument, God forbid that He should prevent his Majesty from acting such an honest Part. It was not his Intention. What He meant to do was consistent with his Duty as a Servant to his Majesty and agreeable to his Duty as a Representative of the People. He meant only to expose that unnecessary Profusion, which had been made of secret-service Money, Pensions, &c. that the Money, which should have paid his honest Tradesmen, was by these Means diverted. His View therefore was to get a Censure of such Practices, and to prevent their becoming Precedents; nor had He any Design of depriving the honest Creditors of their just Debts; and This was the Reason, when it came to the last Instance, why this Gentleman voted for the Question; which his Majesty understood very well to be agreeable to the Promise he had made, however mysterious it might appear to others, and which the Gentleman was fully persuaded to be just in its self and consistent with his Duty, as a Servant to the Crown.

Since We are now upon the Head of *secret History*, which you have open'd, I must explain another Point, in *this Gentleman's Defence*, concerning

ing the Reconciliation between his *present M——y* and the *late K——* ; from whence it will appear whether *you*, or *this Gentleman*, was most greedy of Employments, and who discover'd the truest Zeal for the Honour of his *present M——y*. I shall only premise that in all Points of a *secret Nature*, where no other Proof can be had but the Honour of the Persons asserting on *one Side* and on the *other*, the World hath nothing else to decide upon but their *Characters*, and I think it pretty clear between *you two*, who will be soonest believed.

This then, I am told, He avers upon his *Honour* ; that you sent to him one Day, as he was going out of Town, desiring to speak with him ; that, when he came, you told him of the Reconciliation between the *late K——* and the then *P—— of W——* ; and that a Bargain was made for those *Whigs*, who had resign'd their Employments, to be put in again by Degrees. To This the *Gentleman* reply'd ; *who pray is it, that hath had Authority to make this Bargain?* Your Answer was, *I have done it with the Ministry, and it was insisted on that nobody but Lord Townshend should know of the Transaction. Neither Lord Cowper, the Speaker, nor any one else knew it ; and therefore We hope you will not take it amiss, that it was kept secret from you* ——— Not I, said the *Gentleman* ; but I think

think it very odd that any one should presume to take a plenary Authority upon Himself to deal for such Numbers as were concern'd in an Affair of this Consequence.—We have not, said you again, had our own Interests alone in View. We have bargain'd for all our Friends; and in due Time They will be provided for. I am to be, said you, at the Head of the Treasury. Lord Sunderland had a great Desire to retain the Disposition of the Secret-Service-Money to Himself; but I would by no Means consent to That; knowing that the chief Power of a Minister (and I presume his Profit also) depends on the Disposition of it. You named several others, who were to come into Employments; and said to this Gentleman, We know, Sir, that you do not value any Thing of that Kind; so We have obtain'd a Peerage for you.—It seems you did not, at that Time, pretend that the Gentleman either expected, or insisted on any Employment; and therefore told Him that the King had consented to make Him a Peer. To This the Gentleman reply'd, with some warmth; Sir, if ever I should be mean enough to submit to being sold, I promise you that you shall never have the selling of Me. A Peerage is what, some Time or other, I may be glad of accepting, for the Sake of my Family; but I will never obtain it by any base Method, or submit to have it got for me upon such Terms by You. But pray, Sir, (continued the Gentleman) since you acquaint

quaint me with the Terms you have made for Me ; what are Those you have made for the P——, who hath acted so honourable and steady a Part to Those, with whom He engaged, and who are now in Opposition to the Court? —To This you answer'd, with a Sneer, *why He is to go to Court again, and He will have his DRUMS and his GUARDS, and such FINE THINGS.*—At This the Gentleman was astonish'd, and thought proper to press you a little farther, by asking you, *whether the P—— was to be left Regent again, as He had been, when the King went out of England.*—No, said you, *why SHOULD HE?*—*What !* reply'd the Gentleman, *have you stipulated for a Share of Royalty for your self, on the King's Departure, and is the P—— to live like a private Subject, of no Consequence in the Kingdom?*—The Gentleman avers, upon his Honour, that your Answer was This. HE DOES NOT DESERVE IT. WE HAVE DONE TOO MUCH FOR HIM ; AND IF IT WAS TO BE DONE AGAIN WE WOULD NOT DO SO MUCH.—Upon This the Gentleman went directly to the P—— (with whom He then had some Credit) and humbly represented upon what Terms the Reconciliation was founded. He told Him that He was sold to his *Father's Ministers by Persons*, who consider'd nothing but *Themselves* and their own Interest, and were in Haste to make their Fortunes. This was thought by Him to have had some Weight, at that
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Time, with the *P*——, though the *Gentleman* did not think it proper to tell Him the whole that had pass'd, and relate what you had said of Him in so ungrateful a Manner.

This is the *Man* (behold Him well!) who reproaches others with want of *Duty to the King and Decency to the Royal Family*; this *base Wretch*, who is now deceiving and flattering *that very Person*, whom He us'd so ill, to serve his own selfish Ends; for I believe I may affirm that, besides the View of obtaining other Employments, the Promise of a *Noli Prosequi* upon a Grant of a Place in the *Custom-House*, which was apprehended to be *illegal*, was one of the chief Motives to *this Reconciliation*.

You charge *this Gentleman* farther with *following the Court again, when the late King dyed, and worshipping the RISING SUN*——Every Body, Sir, followed the *rising Sun*, at that Time, as well as *this Gentleman*, and would have been extremely pleas'd to see Him shine in *Meridian Glory*. Men, of all Parties, made a Tender of their Affections and Services on that Occasion; which had no good Aspect, indeed, upon your Affairs, and therefore you have spared no Pains to divide them again. But you would insinuate by This that He was making his Court to get an Employment; the con-

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trary of which is so true that *this great Person* Himself well knows that, at the first Audience *the Gentleman* had of Him, He assured Him that He did not come to ask for any Employment, nor should ever trouble Him upon that Score ; and believed his Majesty had met with but few, who gave Him the like Instances of Zeal and Affection.

I shall not pretend to justify the Increase of the *civil List* at that Time. Such Instances of Complaisance to the Crown are too common at the Beginning of a Reign ; but as *this Gentleman* had no share in projecting it, so his opposing it would have had no other Effect than giving you an opportunity of charging Him with want of *Duty* and *Affection* to his Majesty, as soon as the Crown devolved to Him.

I do not think my self, or *this Gentleman*, oblig'd to justify the *Craftsman*. He writes a weekly Paper, in which no doubt many Hands are concerned. You, Sir, are much more answerable for all the atheistical Stuff, and vile political Maxims, advanced in the *London Journal*, which every Body knows to be propagated, by your Authority, at the publick Expence. Neither can I see how the *Craftsman* hath vindicated the Measures, or Ministers of the *last four years* of Queen Anne, by publishing a Letter (which was manifestly sent Him)

Him) in Confutation of some Facts, falsly charg'd upon *two Gentlemen*, who have long been most infamously abused on his Account; but since you have thought fit to mention the late Earl of Oxford, I am ready to agree with you that *his Character had many good Qualities in it*, which you want. He was certainly a very *able Minister*; and notwithstanding the violence of those Times, Experience proves Him to have been an *honest Treasurer*. *He went out of that Office not only with clean but almost empty Hands.*

It always seems to give you great uneasiness *that this Gentleman is happy in the Applauses of his Country*. Why really, Sir, the Publick are pleas'd to entertain a pretty good Opinion of Him; but I never heard Him charged with stooping to any unworthy Methods of courting their Applauses; and, perhaps, that Degree of *Popularity*, which He does enjoy amongst his Countrymen, may proceed in some Measure from his constant Opposition to *You*, who are justly grown so very *unpopular* amongst them. In answer to This, you quote an Observation of the *Craftsman*, *that many Persons, in all Ages, have enjoyed the highest Degree of popular Favour for some time, who least deserved it*. This is certainly true in general; and therefore We must leave this Question (*who deserves the popular Favour most; you or this Gentleman*) to be determin'd by your Actions and the Judgment of the Publick.

You tell us, by Way of Conclusion, *that you scorn to enter into private Life, secret History, or private Correspondencies; and that you abhor to copy from their ever-memorable* PROPER REPLY.

Could any one imagine to find this Sentence at the Conclusion of a *scurrilous Pamphlet*, fill'd with nothing but most infamous Falshoods and vile Misrepresentations of *Family Affairs, personal Secrets* and *private Correspondencies*? Have you not entered into the minutest Parts of *this Gentleman's domestick Affairs*? Have you not pretended to give an Account of his *Family Estate*; how He came by it, and in what Manner it was acquired? Have you not reproached Him with his *sparing, scraping Nature*; his *vindictive Temper*; his *Spight* and *Ambition*; and after all This, is it not monstrously ridiculous to say that *you scorn to enter into Family Affairs, personal Secrets, or private Correspondencies*?——Would not any Body be inclin'd to think you either a *Fool*, or a *Madman*? But you thought, perhaps, that This might guard you against the like Usage, by alledging that you scorn to enter into *Family Affairs*. Poor, weak Man! You are safe not from *this Artifice*, but from the Honour of your *Antagonist*. If you have any *Family Misfortunes*, They are by your worst Enemies lamented, not objected against you.——Far
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be it from me to revile you on this Account. — But since you mention the *ever-memorable proper Reply*, let us see how that Affair stands, and whether the *Gentleman*, whom I defend, is really blameable on that Account.

An *infamous Pamphlet*, much like That before us, came out ; which the *true Author* was both ashamed and afraid to own ; though all Mankind seems now to be convinc'd that it was *yours*. In *this Libel* great Pains were taken to make *two of the worst Characters*, that ever were drawn, applicable to *two Gentlemen*, who happen not to be in your good Graces. When it was first publish'd, the whole World express'd their Indignation against it ; and *You*, to conceal your self, encouraged a Report about Town that it was written by a *certain noble Lord*, which almost every Body believed. A *Reply* came out, which, had it contain'd less Spirit, would not have deserv'd the Title of a *proper Reply* ; and two Characters were drawn in it, of *your self* and *your Brother*, which struck every Body with the Likeness. The Consequence of This was that the *Person*, who was answer'd as the *suppos'd Author*, was much offended, and apprehended Himself to be much wrong'd. What Mischiefs might have ensued would have lain intirely at your Door, who gave Occasion to have *another Gentleman* supposed the Author of it, and rejoic'd in the Consequences of an Affair, which you had been hatching.

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You wind up the whole, according to Custom, with a most nauseous Strain of Adulation to the Throne, at the Expence of *another Gentleman*, who is very well able to justify Himself; and therefore I shall leave that Part to *Him*, or to some of his *Friends*.

As to his *Majesty*, though I shall always scorn to bedaub the *royal Character* with such mean Flattery, as glares through your Performances; yet I shall never be wanting in my Declarations of Zeal for the Happiness of his Government and the Prosperity of his Family. May the *British Crown* never depart from them; and to secure it on their Heads, may *Liberty* always flourish under their Influence and Protection! May his *present Majesty's* Reign be long and glorious; even much more glorious than it hath hitherto been! And to give the fullest Testimony of my Zeal, and the Sincerity of my Intentions, may He be deliver'd, in good Time, from *your Administration*!

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